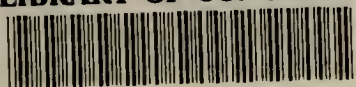


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# HORACE GREELEY,

## "THE CHAPPAQUA SAGE."

### WHAT HE KNOWS ABOUT PARTISAN POLITICS—GLANCES AT HIS POLITICAL RECORD.

Sudden changes of opinion always excite distrust unless they are accompanied by causes so adequate and apparent that the metamorphosis is at once explained. When surrounding circumstances are the same, and where no logical or sufficient reason can be perceived for a revolution in life-long action and sentiment, there naturally arises a suspicion of hidden, mercenary, selfish, or dishonorable motives. If the conversion, besides being sudden and logically inexplicable, was calculated to subserve ambitious ends and aspirations, while a continuance in the former sentiments would not, the doubt of honest conviction and high-minded sincerity in the premises would almost, or quite, amount to certainty.

Such is the position which Horace Greeley now occupies in the minds of those who have hitherto been his political coadjutors. Like Saul of Tarsus he has suddenly betook himself to the companionship of those whom he has ever before denounced as base and dangerous. In the case of the saint there was a light in the heavens visible to those who stood round about; but in the case of the Chappaqua philosopher there is only the blackness of Cimmerian darkness, far from suggestive of anything celestial. Horace Greeley has deserted the Republicans, nay more, the censures and objurgations which for so many years he bestowed upon their opponents, he now pours out upon them, he well knowing that the Democrats make it their greatest boast that they are unchanged. Horace Greeley has not kept his "first estate," politically, he is—

"Hurl'd headlong, flaming from th' ethereal sky,  
With hideous ruin and combustion, down  
To bottomless perdition."

Not only has he deserted the great and noble party to which he was attached, but his hatred toward it will hereafter be greater than that of a person who never belonged to it. During the old wars between the Mahometans and Christians, the latter were accustomed to say that "one renegade was worse than ten Turks." There is a natural abhorrence in the human mind against treachery and selfish desertion. The renegade feels and knows it. He is sensible of the meed he deserves from faithful and honorable minds, and he hates those who award it to him. As the Northern dough-faces exceeded the very slavemongers in their obsequiousness and devotion to the system of slavery, so Greeley and the *Tribune* will now exceed Marble and the *World* in the spitefulness, malignancy, and venom with which they will pursue the Republicans.

Ever since he obtained reputation and prominence as a partisan and pungent editor of the *Log Cabin*, in 1845, it has been patent to all who knew, and to all who critically observed him, that he especially lacked the qualifications necessary for an able and successful leader. The Harrison campaign was managed by shrewd and sagacious men like Seward and Weed. They made use of Greeley to great advantage, and as a writer he did efficient execution. He was handled so adroitly that he fancied he was the directing and controlling mind, and wished to establish a triumvirate with Seward and Weed. They saw he was very well as a writer, but would be ruinous as a leader. Others saw it too, and greedy and anxious as Greeley has always been for office, neither the Whigs nor Republicans ever dared to trust him in prominent and executive positions. If he now and then received a nomination, he invariably ran behind his party ticket, and the circulation and popularity of the *Tribune* never could give him a respectable currency as a candidate. The frequent disappointments he suffered in his aspirations for office led him to dissolve the firm of Seward, Weed, and Greeley, and since then, like Barkis, he has always been willing, and always unsuccessful,



except in serving out a month or two of somebody else's term in Congress, where in that short period he made himself thoroughly odious and obnoxious to men of all parties without exception or distinction. He has repeatedly shown himself a marplot, and notwithstanding his Chinese physiognomy, so "childlike and blunt" he has exhibited stupid obstinacy fully equal to that of Andrew Johnson, or any other jackass.

During Lincoln's celebrated canvass with Douglass, and during the legislative contest which followed it, Greeley was quite as much for the latter as the former. He electioneered for Lincoln about as he did for the Republicans in Connecticut last spring. Afterwards, at the Convention in Chicago, where Lincoln was first nominated, and where the competition was between such men as Lincoln, Seward, and Chase, was our Chinese sage, running over with apparent simplicity, and he, too, had his candidate. He pressed his candidate with "ways that were dark and tricks that were vain." He probably swore "good mouth filling oaths," and manifested his great knowledge of men, his exquisite discrimination of character, and his profound conception of statesmanship, by repudiating Lincoln and Seward, and men of that calibre, and advocating a man that no one else ever dreamed of for President—Edward Bates. Mr. Lincoln was perpetually annoyed and worried by this same Chinese politician, during all his Administration. At one time it would be his heedless "on to Richmond," at another his cowardly counsel to make degrading and suicidal concessions, and at another by prosecuting insane negotiations in Canada.

As early as November 9, 1860, he demonstrated how safe and judicious it would have been to have intrusted the guidance of these United States to his sagacity and wisdom. In the *Tribune* of that date he says:

"And now, if the cotton States considered the value of the Union debatable, we maintain their perfect right to discuss it. Nay, we hold with Jefferson to the inalienable right of communities to alter or abolish forms of government that have become oppressive or injurious; and, if the cotton States shall decide that they can do better out of the Union than in it, we insist on letting them go in peace. The right to secede may be a revolutionary one, but it exists nevertheless; and we do not see how one party can have a right to do what another party has a right to prevent. We must ever resist the asserted right of any State to remain in the Union, and nullify or defy the laws thereof; to withdraw from the Union is quite another matter. And, whenever a considerable section of our Union shall deliberately resolve to go out, we shall resist all coercive measures designed to keep it in. We hope never to live in a Republic whereof one section is pinned to the residue by bayonets."

On the 17th of December, 1860, the Chappaqua jurist, patriot, and philanthropist, evinced his acumen by telling what he knew about the Declaration of Independence. He says:

"We have repeatedly asked those who dissent from our view of this matter to tell us frankly whether they do not assent to Mr. Jefferson's statement in the Declaration of Independence that governments 'derive their just powers from the consent of the governed'; and that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, *it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government*: &c., &c. We do heartily accept this doctrine, believing it intrinsically sound, beneficent, and one that, universally accepted, is calculated to prevent the shedding of seas of human blood. And if it justified the secession from the British Empire of three millions of colonists in 1776, we do not see why it would not justify the secession of five millions of Southrons from the Federal Union in 1861. If we are mistaken on this point, why does not some one attempt to show wherein and why? For our own part, while we deny the right of slaveholders to hold slaves against the will of the latter, we cannot see how twenty millions of people can rightfully hold ten, or even five, in a detested Union with them, by military force."

"If seven or eight contiguous States shall present themselves authentically at Washington, saying 'We hate the Federal Union; we have withdrawn from it: we give you the choice between acquiescing in our secession and arranging amicably all incidental questions on the one hand and attempting to subdue us on the other; we could not stand up for coercion, for subjugation; for we do not think it would be just. We hold the right of self-government sacred, even when invoked in behalf of those who deny it to others.'"

Farther along in the same article we may see him invoking the incoming Administration to precipitate itself against "fugitive slaves," and now it is expected by some that he will receive the "negro vote" with grateful acclamation. He says:

"We fully realize that the dilemma of the incoming Administration will be a critical one. It must endeavor to uphold and enforce the laws, as well against rebellious slaveholders as fugitive slaves. The President must fulfill the obligations assumed in his inauguration oath, but if ever "seven or eight States" send agents to Washington to say, "We want to go out of the Union," we shall feel constrained by



our devotion to human liberty to say, *Let them go!* And we do not see how we could take the other side without coming in direct conflict with those rights of man which we hold paramount to all political arrangements, however convenient and advantageous.

One week later, December 24, 1860, Mr. Greeley poured out his soul with a philanthropy at which Jeff Davis and his yet unrepentant followers may clap their hands and hail a brother secessionist. He says:

"Most certainly we believe that Governments are made for peoples, not peoples for Governments—that the latter 'derive their just power from the consent of the governed'; and whenever a portion of this Union, large enough to form an independent, self-subsisting nation, shall see fit to say, authentically, to the residue, 'We want to go away from you,' we shall say—and we trust self-respect, if not regard for the principles of self-government, will constrain the residue of the American people to say—'Go!' We never yet had so poor an opinion of ourselves or our neighbors as to wish to hold others in a hated connection with us. But the dissolution of a Government cannot be effected in the time required for knocking down a house of cards. Let the cotton States, or any six or more States, say, unequivocally, 'We want to get out of the Union,' and propose to effect their end peacefully and inoffensively, and we will do our best to help them out—not that we want them to go, but that we loathe the idea of compelling them to stay."

Five days after the inauguration as President of the Confederate States, of that distinguished citizen who was subsequently bailed with such alacrity by Mr. Greeley, the latter in the *Tribune* of February 23, 1861, spoke thus:

"We have repeatedly said, and we once more insist, that the great principle embodied by JEFFERSON in the Declaration of American Independence, that Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, is sound and just; and that if the slave States, the cotton States, or the Gulf States only, choose to form an independent nation, *they have a clear and moral right to do so*: We have said, and still maintain, that, provided the cotton States have fully and definitely made up their minds to go by themselves, *there is no need of fighting about it*; for they have only to exercise reasonable patience, and they will be let off in peace and good will. *Whenever it shall be clear that the great body of the Southern people are conclusively alienated from the Union, and anxious to escape from it, we will do our best to forward their views.*"

As men and even philosophers, not unfrequently persist in opinions which appear preposterous to the majority of mankind, so our statesman continued to repeat his previous declarations. In the *Tribune* of September 26, 1862, in a letter to H. McChesney, of Troy, New York, Mr. Greeley says:

"But I shall insist that, if it had been proved that the people of the slave States—or even of the cotton States alone—had already desired to dissolve the Union, and peacefully, deliberately, and authoritatively expressed that wish, *we should have assented to it*. At all events, I should."

These extracts show that Greeley might be styled *secessionist* as well as any Southern fire-eater of the rebellion. If we contrast him with Lincoln during this period, it is a Hyperion to a Satyr. And yet when Mr. Lincoln had been nominated, when certain discontented Republicans had held a Convention at Cleveland, and nominated Fremont and Cochrane, when the fortunes of the Republic were in a most critical condition, and our patriotic President needed all possible aid and assistance, this *Tribune* secessionist treacherously and secretly stabbed Mr. Lincoln by sending out the following letter as private and confidential:

NEW YORK, September 2, 1864.

Hon. ————:

YOUR EXCELLENCY: The undersigned have been requested by a body of influential Unionists to communicate with the loyal Governors, for the purpose of eliciting replies to the following queries:

1. In your judgment is the re-election of Mr. LINCOLN a probability?
2. In your judgment can your own State be carried for Mr. LINCOLN?
3. In your judgment do the interests of the Union party, and so of the country, require the substitution of another candidate in place of Mr. LINCOLN?

In making these queries we give no opinion of our own, and request yours only for the most private and confidential use.

Yours truly,

HORACE GREELEY,

Editor of the *Tribune*, (and two others.)

The People answered Mr. Greeley's interrogatories as they will answer those of Cincinnati next November. We have other specimens of this man's opinions and consistency, but the length of this article admonishes us to postpone them to a future occasion.

ANOTHER LOOK AT THE PRESIDENT ON CHAPPAQUA WISDOM AND CONSISTENCY.

According to John Bunyan the ground before the entrance to the cave of the giants, Pope and Pagan, was covered with blood, bones, ashes, and mangled bodies. This might be said metaphorically of the approaches to the Presidency. For a long number of years we have seen men of ability and reputation sacrificing all the true honors of their lives to the insane idea of becoming President. When once an individual is seized by this madness it becomes an infection that never leaves him. From the first moment of the attack, he grows more and more reckless and unprincipled, repudiates his former most cherished sentiments, turns his back on old and tried friends, forms alliances with those who had always detested him, and finally,

"Living, shall forfeit fair renown,  
And doubly dying, shall go down  
To the vile dust from whence he sprung,  
Unwept, unhonored and unsung."

This Presidential fever is inveterate and incurable. It seizes the citadel of life, and renders its victim ridiculous and contemptible.

"It is a green ey'd monster, which doth make  
The meat it feeds on."

The most conspicuous instance of the malady at present may be seen in Horace Greeley, the sage, philosopher, and wood-cutter of Chappaqua. Before he became a victim to the madness that now possesses him, he had definite notions of the Presidential disease, was well acquainted with its symptoms, and had a clear perception of its intractable and contaminating character. At a banquet given in Montreal, in 1868, Mr. Greeley, in speaking of Daniel Webster, made use of the following language:

"Mr. Webster was not only a gentleman, but he had the elements of moral greatness; and he had faults as well. He failed only in one respect, and in this respect I differ from him—he wanted to be President, and I don't. [Cheers and laughter.] But for that one misfortune he would have been the greatest man America ever produced. We have seen our greatest man, Mr. Chase, making the same blunder. I have seen men who had the disease early, and died of it at a very old age. [Laughter.] General Lewis Cass died at about eighty-two, and up to the day of his death he wanted to be President. No one ever escapes who once catches the disease; and he lives and dies in the delusion. Being a reader and an observer at an early age, I saw how it poisoned and paralyzed the very best of our public men, and I have carefully avoided it."

Two years only have elapsed since this utterance, and already may Mr. Greeley be addressed in the words of the Roman satirist—

"Change but the name of thee, the tale is told."

Although always erratic and visionary, always wedded to specious fallacies, always abounding in contradictions, yet he has now involved himself in a mesh of antagonisms which are wonderful in comparison with his former position.

We propose to contrast Greeley, the Radical Republican, with Greeley, the "Liberal Republican." He has indeed bowed the knee to Baal and sold his principles for a mess of pottage. If there was any one thing more than another to which he professed an unalterable attachment, it was the principle of protection, or as he expressed it, "protection to American industry." Yet, in order to purchase free trade votes, he threw overboard the child of his affection, leaving it to find favor or countenance as it could. Knowing that he has no possible chance of getting so much as one electoral vote unless he is nominated at Baltimore, next July, by the Democrats, he is employing every measure and every artifice in his power to bring about such a consummation. He is in alliance with the Tammany Ring, as has been charged home to him, and has not been denied by himself or the *Tribune*. A late number of the *New York Commercial Advertiser* publishes the following suggestive paragraph:

"AUGUST BELMONT, HORACE GREELEY, JAMES S. THAYER, and BENJAMIN WOOD breakfasted together at the New York Hotel yesterday morning at 10½. Has Tammany sold out to GREELEY, or has GREELEY sold out to Tammany? Which?"

We have the lion and the lamb lying down together—free trader and protectionist crossing their legs under the same mahogany—Jew and Christian fraternizing in a most exemplary manner. The files of the *Log Cabin* and of the *Tribune* would furnish volumes of scurrility and abuse which Horace Greeley poured out on the *Loco Focos*, Free Traders, Rum Party, Democrats, as he called them, and to whom he now cuddles, and to whom he sacrifices the opinions upon which he used to pride himself most. Here is a specimen of the compliments that formerly rained from his pen. "Point," he says:



"Point whenever you please to an election district which you will pronounce morally rotten—given up in great part to debauchery and vice—and that district will be found at nearly or every election to give a large majority for that which styles itself the Democratic party."

"Take all the haunts of debauchery in the land and you will find nine-tenths of their master spirits active participants of that same Democracy."

\* \* "May it be written on my grave that I never was its follower, and lived and died in nothing its debtor."

Here is rhetoric for the Baltimore platform!

But is Mr. Greeley is fraternizing with his old enemies, the "Loco Focos," so he is coquetting with his old enemies, the Ku-Klux. The *Tribune* denounces the authority which it has been proposed to continue in the President's hands to suspend the *habeas corpus* act where public safety may absolutely require it. This, says the *Tribune*, is to put in the President's hands "a sword to gain a re-election—an iniquitous attempt to gag and fetter a people just beginning to recover its freedom of speech and action—a bill for keeping the South under military rule for political purposes," and more of the same purport and the same Democratic complexion. But how did Mr. Greeley write of the same thing less than a year ago? Here are his words:

"I hold our Government bound by its duty of protecting our citizens in their fundamental rights, to pass and enforce laws for the extirpation of the execrable Ku-Klux conspiracy; and if it has not the power to do it, then I say our Government is no Government, but a sham. I therefore on every proper occasion advocated and justified the Ku-Klux act. I hold it especially desirable for the South; and if it does not prove strong enough to effect its purpose, I hope it will be made stronger and stronger."

Was he honest then, or is he honest now? Did he want Ku-Klux votes then, or does he want them now? Was he Horace Greeley then, or is he Augustus Belmont, Ben Wood—Jeff. Davis—Greeley now?

The bland Chinese looking cat of Chappaqua, belongs to the "Reformers" now, but when he did not want their votes, his paws were not so velvety. He carried claws on them then and scratched the Reformers so vigorously, and kept up such a caterwauling while he was about it, that his present co-adjutors hated him with a hatred that had no discount. In September, 1870, Greeley characterized this reform movement as "*a conspiracy to destroy the Republican party.*" He was speaking of the Carl Schurz and Gratz Brown organization in Missouri. In the same article he goes on to say:

"Governor McClurg, of Missouri, was among those marked out for prostration by this conspiracy. Accordingly, we were nowise surprised when a minority of the late Republican Convention at Jefferson City, finding that they could not defeat Governor McClurg's renomination, BOLTED, resolved themselves into a hostile body and nominated B. Gratz Brown for Governor, with a full ticket to match. Right well these bolters knew that they could poll but a small portion of the Republican vote; but the Democrats had declined by preconcert to nominate a ticket, and will poll their full vote for the bolters ticket; and this, it is hoped, will elect it."

Here we find him giving his opinion of B. Gratz Brown, the man with whom he is now yoked in the scrub race they are making for the Presidency. Brown did not then fill a high place in Mr. Greeley's estimation. Brown is not changed. Brown is the same man now that he was then! How is it with our Chinese sage? Was he honest then or now?

Now, one of the most obstreperous howls of Mr. Greeley is concerning the removal of all political disabilities. His bowels of compassion are moved over the unhappy ineligibility of Jeff. Davis to hold a national office. But when Mr. Greeley wrote the article from which I have quoted, he was in a state of darkness and error. Then he stigmatized the advocacy by the "Missouri Reformers" of the removal of political disabilities as a fraud and a screen. He then said: "The question is seized by the minority as an excuse for bolting, and as a means of securing the Democratic vote for the bolting ticket." Nor does he rest here, but further along reiterates the same assertion, and says: "We urge every Republican Protectionist to vote for the Republican candidate. Let the free traders have a monopoly of the bolting business."

So did Horace speak then, but now he hugs these unchanged "bolting free traders" to his bosom. Saul is among the prophets!

We have had Greeley's opinion of Gratz Brown, but in portraying the "Reformers" and in criticising and opposing the movement, he also pays his compliments to Carl Schurz. In the *Tribune* of November 30, 1870, Mr. Greeley says:

"The Missouri bolt was arranged in Washington last winter and then proclaimed in the free trade organs. The game was to get a minority of the Republicans to unite with all the Democrats and revolutionize the State. To this end an issue on enfranchisement was indispensable. The Democrats were not all free traders but

they all wanted the rebels enfranchised, and would vote any ticket to secure that end. The Republicans were divided on enfranchisement; some believing that the time for it had come, others that it had not. When, therefore, CARL SCHUMER, IN A BULLYING, IRRITATING SPEECH, insisted that the Republican Convention should make enfranchisement a plank of its platform, the answer was obvious:

"You ask us to assert a falsehood—namely, that we are all in favor of enfranchisement when some of us are not." The Republicans adopted a platform which left every one free to vote for or against enfranchisement as he judged best. Here upon the predetermined bolt was made. We warn the Republicans that the pretext was a SHAM; that enfranchisement was certain to be carried anyhow; that the real object of the bolt was to hand the State over to SHAM Democracy and free trade. And that is the naked truth."

Truthfully and well spoke Mr. Greeley then, and when now, in the ravings of his "midsummer madness," he calls black white, and white black, we will appeal from Horace mad to Horace lucid—we will confute Greeley by extracts from Greeley. It would make an interminable chapter to cite all the gross contradictions of Greeley's course. We shall only further cite him in regard to the illustrious soldier and judicious statesman who is now President of the United States. We know how Greeley now execrates him and his administration—how the caldron seethes and boils with similar abuse. Let us bring Horace Greeley into court before he was a Presidential candidate—before Herod and Pilate had joined hands. In June, 1863, the following is the testimony of our witness prior to his becoming a renegade:

"Upon General Grant's accession to the Presidency a number of those who had supported his election, with some who had not, sought office at his hands or expected him to bestow it unasked. He was unable to gratify their aspirations.

"Their lamentations mingled with the howls of the disappointed, made a doleful dissonance, whereof the only meaning deducible runs thus: 'General Grant is found wanting—his administration is a failure!'

"Failure? how? in what! Have we not peace and plenty in the land? Is not our flag displayed and respected on every sea? What foreign foe molests or threatens us? Who fears insurrection at home or invasion from abroad? In which of the thirty-six States are the masses wanting work, discontented, suffering?

"Consider our financial condition. Nearly every State and municipality paying off debts incurred in raising men for the war, while the national debt has been reduced nearly thirty millions in the four months that General Grant has had his hands on the helm. The public expenditure is falling off on every side, while the revenue is up to high-water mark.

"Yes, General Grant has failed to gratify some eager aspirations, and has thereby incurred some intense hatreds. These will not and do not fail; and his administration will prove at least equally vital. We shall hear lamentation after lamentation over his failure, from those whose wish is father to the thought; but the American people let them pass unheeded. Their strong arms bore him triumphantly through the war and into the White House and they still uphold and sustain him. **THEY NEVER FAILED, AND NEVER WILL!**"

On the 29th of September, 1871, in a draft for a platform endorsed by Mr. Greeley, it was said of the Administration that:

It abolished slavery.

It led in the suppression of the rebellion.

It preserved and enlarged the Union.

It promptly reduced the enormous forces thus required to a peace footing.

It has reduced the debt over two hundred and fifty millions of dollars in the last three years.

It has simultaneously reduced public taxation over two hundred and fifty millions of dollars per annum.

It has preserved peace on the frontier.

It has won a friendly adjustment of the threatening troubles with Great Britain.

In February, 1871, Mr. Greeley said:

"We like General Grant; but we care far more for Republican ascendancy than for any man's personal fortunes. It is in our view of great importance that the opposition shall be kept out of power. \* \* \* \* \*

"For a Democratic national triumph means a restoration to power of those who deserted their seats in Congress and their places under the last Democratic President to plunge the country into the Red Sea of Secession and Rebellion. Though you paint an inch thick, to this complexion you must come at last. The brain, the heart, the soul of the present Democratic party is the rebel element at the South with its Northern allies and sympathizers. It is rebel at the core to-day. \* \* \*

"It would hail the election of a Democratic President in 1872 as a virtual reversal of the Appomattox surrender. It would come into power with the hate, the chagrin,



the wrath, the mortification of ten bitter years, to impel and guide its steps. It would hail the tidings of national bankruptcy with unalloyed gladness and unceasing exultation. Whatever chastisement may be deserved by our national sins, we must hope that this disgrace and humiliation will be spared us."

On the 5th of January, 1871, when making some remarks on taking his seat as chairman of a Republican Committee, Mr. Greeley said:

"As to the administration of GEN. GRANT, I recognize no one as a Republican who is not grateful for its judicious, energetic, and successful efforts to procure the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, that key stone of our political arch, whereby the fruits of our great triumph over rebellion and slavery are assured and perpetuated. While asserting the right of every Republican to his untrammelled choice of a candidate for next President until a nomination is made, I venture to suggest than Gen. GRANT will be far better qualified for that momentous trust in 1872 than he was in 1868."

Here Mr. Greeley, now so strenuous for the *one term* principle, nominated General Grant for a second term. The views he expresses concerning the President and the Administration are just and true, and are and will be endorsed by the great body of the people. The blind and vindictive denunciation in which Greeley has since indulged, can never obliterate the record he has himself written of General Grant's eminent ability and perfect integrity.

#### HORACE GREELEY AS A SECESSIONIST.

We well know that the American people are both forgetful and forgiving of political errors of judgment and inconsistency. It is comparatively of little avail to prove that any public man has been on all sides of all public questions. This is to be regretted, because it has shorn political affairs of their moral and conscientious power, and has reduced them to a great extent to mere professions, dictated by convenience.

Knowing that this is the case, we would scarcely deem it worth our time to prove that Horace Greeley has entertained upon the tariff and slavery questions and upon all economic measures, opinions entirely different from those that are professed by the great masses of his probable supporters. But there is one question which goes deeper down to the issue of the life and death of our nation, and this is the question of the right of secession. Whether the American continent shall be one and indivisible, whether it shall remain a great power with all the rights, privileges, and immunities of a great power; whether the American citizen shall be respected in the farthest corner of the earth, because a flag of power waves over him, or whether he shall be subjected to the insults of all, because a fragment of a nation only sustains him, is an issue of the greatest importance. It touches the patriotism of all, and ought never to be made an issue in a political campaign. But how can it be avoided when Horace Greeley not merely once, but repeatedly and continually has professed the doctrine and has endeavored to justify it by the misapplication of the Declaration of Independence; that any number of States, as he says, the Gulf States, the cotton States, or the slave States, or it may be a single State, has the right to secede from the Union; and that the Government of the United States has no power nor moral right to resist their disavowment of the Union. We shall show by the following extract, which might be multiplied to the score of a dozen, that Horace Greeley is fully committed to the doctrine of the right of secession. And what is more singular, is this, that repeated argumentations in his editorials were more than a year thereafter confirmed, and laid down as his deliberate judgment in the letter written in 1862; and that he has never since that time in any way recalled these declarations.

Here is one of the extracts:

"We have repeatedly said, and we once more insist, that the great principle embodied by JEFFERSON in the Declaration of American Independence, that Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, is sound and just; and that if the slave States, the cotton States, or the Gulf States only, choose to form an independent nation, *they have a clear and moral right to do so*: We have said, and still maintain, that, provided the cotton States have fully and definitively made up their minds to go by themselves, *there is no need of fighting about it*; for they have only to exercise reasonable patience, and they will be let off in peace and good will. *Whenever it shall be clear that the great body of the Southern people are conclusively alienated from the Union, and anxious to escape from it, we will do our best to forward their views.*"—*Tribune*, Feb. 23, 1861.

No wonder that the South so unanimously rallies to his support. Suppose Horace Greeley is elected and has carried a majority of the Congressional districts, as he naturally would in case of election. Suppose the South meets again in Convention and demands as a right that it be allowed to secede. And suppose Horace Greeley, who alone could legally convene an extra session of Congress, should refuse to exer-

aise the prerogative, is there any power, except that of revolution, or of a violent deposition of the President and the establishment of dictatorship, that prevent the South from re-establishing the Confederate Military Government and secure their recognition of foreign nations?

Suppose Horace Greeley had been in the White House in 1861, would not the Confederate Government have become an established fact, and our country a scene of anarchy and confusion?

We appeal to all thinking men, to all patriots, to all soldiers who have offered to bring the greatest sacrifice, which men can bring upon the altar of any cause that of life itself, whether they can sustain a man who repeatedly has declared himself in favor of secession, and who has never revoked nor recalled these declarations.

These declarations moreover were made at a time when there was the greatest need of firmness, and in circumstances which greatly aided and encouraged the traitors of the South and disconcerted, and brought weakness and dissensions into the counsels of loyal men.

It seems to us not within the realms of probability that the patriotic people of the nation, who brought such enormous sacrifices to the cause of unity, and who are now paying the principle and interest of the debt of thousands of millions of dollars, and who still cherish with sorrow the losses of fathers, sons, and brothers, should deliberately condemn themselves and justify secession by the elevation to the Presidency of a man who declared in favor of the right of secession, and who denied the power of coercion. We earnestly appeal to our public writers and speakers to bring this view of the question home to the American people, because this secession record deliberately made, and never recalled, goes to the very life and existence of the nation. It is the one source, the one and only source of weakness in our system. And by not bringing Jefferson Davis to trial, the question of *the right* of secession has never been judicially determined; and Horace Greeley took good care, as far as his influence extended, that it never should be.

We would much rather Horace Greeley professed doctrines in favor of the establishment of a monarchy or dictatorship, because his influence would be less dangerous, for these sentiments would find only few followers; but these insidious questions of States rights and secession is one that will always be popular in the South, and will have its seductive influence everywhere.

The issue is striking and radical between General Grant, who by his skill, courage, enterprise, strategy, prowess, and the sacrifices of his heroic men saved the Union, when the indifferent and unpatriotic Horace Greeley staid at home, and counseled "unconditional surrender."

Let us insist, then, that this great American continent inherited from the sires of the Revolution, the support of Republican institutions of the world, the peaceful home of millions from other lands, the exile home of refuge, the hope of better days among the Governments and nations, shall remain one and indivisible in glory and power. Let the dastardly and cowardly hand that is raised against this beautiful edifice of State be thrust aside; and let the insidious counselors of secession, disunion, and division be remanded to obscurity. Let this issue be fully and fairly made, and we have no doubt but that the intelligent and patriotic masses, who have brought so many sacrifices for this unity in time of war, will also with a united and earnest voice sustain it in time of peace.

A grand nation inspires grand deeds; an illuminated continent induces a wider mental vision and more expansive thought. The influences of a great State enlarges the heart and increases philanthropic impulses, so that in the true American citizen we see the prince of unbounded charity and a freedom of action and thought that can never be found among the inhabitants of insignificant States. All that we may have—all that we may expect to be—in fact, the future of the world depends upon this issue—for if the dark pall of anarchy, confusion, and subdivision with their jealousies and their standing armies should settle upon the American continent, where the problem of self-government has had the fairest trial, tyranny, oppression, and mental and moral darkness would settle like a polar midnight upon the entire globe and the light of Liberty would be extinguished forever.











